

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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R 192125Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7840

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1353

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINT

SUBJ: GOC DELCARES ITS PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

REF: SANTIAGO 1215, 1188

1. SUMMARY. GOC RELEASED "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE" EVENING MAR 11. DOCUMENT PRESENTS PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT IN BROADEST TERMS, SERVING AS CONCEPTIONAL FOUNDATION FOR MORE SPECIFIC IDEAS OUTLINED IN VARIOUS DOCUMENTS SUMMARIZED IN REFTELS. IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS "PRINCIPLES" REPRESENT FUNDAMENTAL DEPARTURE FROM RECENT CHILEAN POLITICAL EXPERIENCE. JUNTA DECLARES ITS GOAL TO BE SOCIETY BASED ON CHRISTIAN, HISPANIC, WESTERN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, AT LEAST IN FORMATIVE YEARS, POLITICAL DECISIONS WILL BE MADE BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING ON PRINCIPLE OF CONCENTRATED AUTHORITY AND SEVERE CONTROL OVER OPPOSITION.

2. IN PLACE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY-ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS, NEW STATE WILL HAVE NON-POLITICAL SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS. THESE ORGANIZATIONS WILL CARE FOR AND DEVELOP INTERESTS OF MEMBERS IN LIMITED SPHERE, WHILE EXCLUSIVE POLITICAL AUTHORITY, FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE THE JUNTA, DETERMINES AND PROMULGATES GUIDELINES ON OVERALL ORGANIZATION AND GOALS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY. NATIONAL CIVIC/MILITARY MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT JUNTA.

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WHEN DAMAGE DONE BY MARIXST AND EARLIER POLITICIANS REPAIRED,

AND NEW SOCIETY WELL ON WAY, WITH MENTALITY OF CHILEAN ALTERED FOR BETTER, MILITARY PREPARED TO HAND OVER POWER TO THOSE ELECTED BY PEOPLE UNDER A SUITABLY RESTRICTED POLITICAL SYSTEM, RESERVING FOR THEMSELVES A PARTICIPATORY ROLE UNDER NEW CONSTITUTION.

3. RETIREMENT OF JUNTA CLEARLY YEARS AWAY IF THESE PRINCIPLES ARE TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. UNCLEAR WHETHER JUNTA HAS FACED UP TO FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION INHERENT IN ITS DOCUMENT, I.E. WHETHER A LEGITIMATE DEMOCRATIC STATE WILL EVENTUALLY BE RESTORED IN CHILE BY AUTHORITARIAN INSTITUTIONS WHICH OFFER VIRTUALLY NO REALISTIC POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING, RESERVE POLITICAL POWER TO SELF-PERPETUATING RULING GROUP, CONTAIN SWEEPING PROHIBITIONS AGAINST "MARXISM" VERY BROADLY DEFINED, AND PROVIDE NO CHANNEL FOR ORGANIZED EXPRESSION OF ANY POLITICAL OPINION OTHER THAN JUNTA'S. JUNTA HAS EFFECTIVELY REJECTED INDICATIONS OF POLITICAL PREFERENCE OF AT LEAST ONE-HALF AND PERHAPS TWO-THIRDS OF CHILE'S VOTING POPULATION AS EXPRESSED IN ELECTIONS OF 1970 AND 1973. END SUMMARY.

4. JUST SIX MONTHS AFTER JUNTA ASSUMED POWER, GOC MAR 11 RELEASED DOCUMENT ENTITLED "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT OF CHILE." DOCUMENT OUTLINES WHAT JUNTA CONSIDERS PROPER ROLES OF MAN AND STATE IN SOCIETY, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE NEEDED TO GUIDE BOTH, IN LANGUAGE SIMILAR IN MANY RESPECTS TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE ON THE PERSON AND THE COMMON GOOD. JUNTA EXPLAINS THAT FAILURES OF BOTH DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS AND MARXISTS LED ARMED FORCES AND POLICE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY HAD DUTY TO STEP IN AND GUIDE CHILE TOWARD DESIRED SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. CURRENT PERIOD OF EMERGENCY SAID TO REQUIRE AUTHORITARIAN RULE BY JUNTA AND SUSPENSION OF LIBERTIES WHILE NEW SOCIETY CREAED IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES CAN BE ENJOYED WITHIN LIMITS OF RESPONSIBILITY.

5. ONLY AFTER THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED WILL JUNTA BE PREPARED O TURN OVER POWER TO ELECTED SUCCESSORS. IT WILL STILL RETAIN A STRONGER ROLE FOR THE MILITARY UNDER THE AS YET UNREVEALED NEW CONSTITUION THAN HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL IN CHILE. THE "DECLARATION" DOES NOT MAKE CLEAR HOW CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION AS SUCCESSORS TO JUNTA ARE TO BRE SELECTED OR WHETHER AN ELECTED SUCCESSOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVERNMENT IS TO BE BOUND BY ANY GREATER LEGAL OR POLITICAL RESTRAINTS THAN THE PRESENT GOC.

6. DECLARATION PLACES CHILE IN RANKS OF LDCS, WHICH ARE FACED WITH CHOICE OF TWO SOCIETAL "MODELS" TO EMULATE: ONE SOCIALIST AND INSPIRED BY MARXISM-LENINISM; THE OTHER FOLLOWED BY THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED TO MAKE POLITICAL LIBERTY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE COMPATIBLE WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. JUNTA

REJECTS SOCIALISM AS INCOMPATIBLE WITH CHRISTIAN AND HISPANIC FOUNDATIONS OF CHILE, AND SEES IN CAPITLIST SYSTEM TOO MUCH MATERIALISM AND SPIRITUAL SLAVERY. CHOICE CHILE HAS MADE IS TO OPPOSE MARXISM, WHICH HAS RUINED COUNTRY, AND TO CREATE ITS OWN CHILEAN SYSTEM WHICH BALANCES LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

7. IN NEW CHILEAN MODEL, BASED ON CHRISTIANITY, THE INDIVIDUAL HAS NATURAL RIGHTS ANTERIOR AND SUPERIOR TO STATE. THE STATE MUST SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL AND NOT THE REVERSE. THE PURPOSE OF THE STATE IS THE GENERAL WELFARE OF ALL. GENERAL WELFARE REQUIRES RESPECT FOR PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARIEDAD -- THAT NO SUPERIOR SOCIAL ORGAN SHOULD INTERFERE IN OR DO THE WORK OF A COMPETENT LESSER ORGAN, SUCH AS THE FAMILY. THE STATE SHOULD ASSUME ONLY THOSE FUNCTIONS SUCH AS NATIONAL DEFENSE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, OR -- THE KEY POINT -- THOSE WHICH BY THEIR NATURE REQUIRE GENERAL COORDINATION, BY IMPLICATION DECISIONS AND GUIDELINES ON MAJOR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACING SOCIETY. WHEN INTERMEDIATE ORGANS CANNOT DO THEIR JOB OR ARE NEGLIGENT, STATE MUST THEN

ACT ON BEHALF OF COMMON WELFARE AND TEMPORARILY EXERCISE THEIR FUNCTIONS WHILE CORRECTING THEIR WEAKNESSES. THIS IS JUNTA'S JUSTIFICATION FOR ITS ASSUMPTION OF POWER AND ITS ASSERTED RIGHT TO RESTRUCTURE CHILEAN SOCIETY.

8. THIS PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARY RESPONSIBILITY IMPLIES RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY AND FREE ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE, SUBJECT TO APPROPRIATE STATE COORDINATION, PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION. THE STATE MUST RESERVE TO ITSELF THOSE PARTS OF ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND PROCESS WHICH BY IMPORTANCE OR NATURE CANNOT BE LEFT IN HANDS OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS.

9. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, JUNTA WILL SEEK "ELEMENTS OF CHILEAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REALITY" WHICH COMPLEMENT ITS PHILOSOPHY AND DOCTRINE. FIRST OBJECTIVE OF RECONSTRUCTION IS TO MAKE CHILE A GREAT NATION, GUIDED BY A NATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEM TO COORDINATE DEVELOPMENT. JUNTA WILL BE GUIDED BY CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY, "DRASTICALLY PENALIZING ANY INDISCIPLINE OR ANARCHY." GOC IS AND WILL BE "IMPERSONAL" AND JUST, REJECTING ARBITRARY PERSONAL RULE OF AN INDIVIDUAL LEADER (CAUDILLISMO). RULERS WILL BE SOBER AND AUSTERE, AND RESTORE NON-POLITICAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND THE RIGHT OF DISSENT WILL BE RESPECTED, BUT EXERCISE MUST BE LIMITED IN PRESENT EMERGENCY, AND LIMITS MUST BE SET IN FUTURE TO AVOID ABUSE BY ELEMENTS WHO WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF DEMOCRACY TO OVERTHROW IT. FOR THIS REASON "MARXIST PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS" WILL NOT BE ADMITTED AGAIN TO CIVIC LIFE OF CHILE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7841

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1353/2

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINT

SUBJ: GOC DECLARES ITS PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

10. NEW INSTITUTIONS TO BE CREATED BY JUNTA WILL BE BASED ON PRINCIPLE OF DECENTRALIZATION OF DUNCTIONAL AND TERRITORIAL AUTHORITY, TO ASSURE BOTH TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT ANT POPULAR PARTICIPATION, POWER IS DIVIDED INTO POLITICAL POWER, THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE THE GENERAL INTERESTS OF THE NATION, AND SOCIAL POWER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPECIAL INTERESTS OF EACH GROUP, PRIMARILY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE RESPECTIVE SUBSIDIARY ORGANS. GIVEN MESS IT HAS INHERITED, JUNTA MUST ASSUME ALL POLITICAL POWER, AND WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE IT UNTIL TASK OF MORAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION IS COMPLETED. NOTHING LESS THAN "CHAM ING THE MENTALITY" OF CHILEANS IS REQUIRED. THEREAFTER, JUNTA WILL HAND OVER POWER TO THOSE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE. THE MILITARY AND POLICE WILL THEN PLAY A NEW ROLE UNDER THE PLANNED CONSTITUTION, WHICH WILL ASSURE THEM POWER TO TAKE ACTION WHEN IN THEIR OPINION "NATIONAL SECURITY," INTERINATL OR EXTERNAL, IS AGAIN THREATENED. ONLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION APPARENTLY FORESEEN FOR THIS FINAL STAGE IS MASS CIVIC/MILITARY MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT GERVENMENT.

11. JUNTA WILL ASSURE THAT "ORGANS" WHICH MAKE UP STATE ARE
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NON-POLITICAL. AMONG MOST IMPORTANT ORGANS ARE GUILDS (GREMIOS). HOWEVER, JUNTA NOW HAS GIVEN WORD GREMIO WIDER MEANING THAN HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL. THE GREMIO IS NOT AS IN PAST A PROFESSIONAL OR TRADE ORGANIZATION, BUT MAY ALSO BE A UNION OR STUDENT ORGANIZATION, ALL GREMIOS WILL REPRESENT INTERESTS OF MEMBERS, AND MUST AVOID CONTACT WITH OR INFLUENCE FROM ANY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. (THIS IS MAJOR DEPARTURE FROM PAST PRACTICE.) GREMIOS AND OTHER ORGANS WILL BE "VEHICLES OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION," LINKING PERSONS WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES. "OUR DEMOCRACY WILL THEREFORE BE ORGANIC, SOCIAL AND PARTICIPATORY."

12. ECONOMIC PLANS AND PRINCIPLES APPEAR ORTHODOX, IN LINE WITH ALREADY EXPRESSED THOUGHT OF JUNTA. FIRST PRIORITIES FOR RECONSTRUCTION ARE AGRICULTURE AND MINING. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FAVORED, UNDER GOVERNMENT GUIDANCE.

13. FOREIGN RELATIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED IN TRADITION OF HONORING TREATIES, NON-INTERVENTION, SELF-DETERMINATION, SEEKING OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS WHICH DO NOT TRY TO INTERVENE IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS. ENIGMATIC REFERENCE IS MADE TO POSSIBLE NEW RELATIONS WITH "CIVILIZATIONS AND CULTURES ACROSS THE PACIFIC."

14. DOCUMENT ENDS WITH NAMING OF FAMILY, WOMAN, AND YOUTH AS PILLARS OF RECONSTRUCTION, AND CALL TO PATRIOTISM. TEXT POUNCHED.

15. COMMENT. DECLARATION REPRESENTS MOST SYSTEMATIC EXPOSITION JUNTA HAS YET GIVEN OF ITS GENERAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. ESSENTIALLY, IT APPEARS TO BE AN AMALGAM OF LOFTY, RIGID, PUBLIC SERVICE-ORIENTED DOCTRINE OF A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT CONVINCED THAT ONLY ITS STRONG LEADERSHIP CAN SAVE A BADLY SHOKEN COUNTRY, AND VAGUE CORPORATIST AND AUTHORITARIAN IDEAS OF A SMALL GROUP OF RIGHT-WING CIVILIAN INTELLECTUALS.

16. DECLARATION ABOUNDS IN GENERALITIES AND IN STATEMENTS OF INTENTION, WITHOUT ANY CLEAR INDICATION OF HOW DESIRED GOALS CAN BE REACHED. IT PROVIDES VIRTUALLY NO ROLE FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS IT EXISTS IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENTS: IDEAS AND VIEWPOINTS CAN PERCOLATE UP THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE STATE, BUT THE SELF-APPOINTED LEADERS -- BOUND BY THEIR

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STRICT CODE OF MORALITY, JUSTICE, LAW AND DUTY -- WILL MAKE THE DECISIONS ON THEIR OWN.

17. AT THE MOMENT, THE NORMALLY

YVESCENT CHILEAN PUBLIC

IS STILL TRAUMATIZED BY THE VIOLENT OVERTURN OF SEPTEMBER 1973 AND THE PRECEDING ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. BY ALL THE EVIDENCE, IT CONTINUES TO GIVE BROAD SUPPORT TO THE MILITARY JUNTAN AS A MEANS OF MAINTAINING THE PROGRESS ALREADY MADE TOWARD ECONOMIC RECOVERY. EVENTUALLY, PERHAPS DURING THE APPROACHING WINTER OF AUSTERITY, SIGNS OF OPPOSITION MAY APPEAR; THEY ARE NOT VISIBLE TODAY.

18. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE JUNTA WILL BE IN NO HURRY TO RELINQUISH ITS POWERS. MARXISM, BROADLY DEFINED, CAN EXPECT NO QUARTER FROM IT. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, WHO UP TO NOW HAVE SUPPORTED THE JUNTA AND HOPED THAT CHILE WOULD SOON RETURN TO ITS TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PROCESSES, CAN NO LONGER SUSTAIN THAT HOPE. JUNTA'S VERSIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM FOR CHILE IS IN THEIR THINKING CLEARLY SOME YEARS AWAY AT BEST, AND WHEN IT COMES MAY BE EXPECTED TO BE VERY LIMITED IN SCOPE, WITHOUT MUCH CHANCE FOR EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE OF FUNDAMENTALS JUNTA HAS SET FOR ITSELF.

19. THUS, AS NORMALITY RETURNS TO CHILE, ONLY THE CONSERVATIVE RIGHT CAN BE COUNTED ON TO REMAIN CONTENT WITH THE "DECLARATION." THIS IS AT MOST ONE-THIRD OF THE POPULATION. HOW MUCH OF THE REMAINDER OF THE POPULATION CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACQUIESCE IN THE JUNTA'S GRAND DESIGN REMAINS TO BE SEEN.
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